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institutions, the aim of the *Universités Populaires* being to unite with instruction the sentiment of fraternity, of harmony among men and peace between nations ;

In view of the good results obtained by the Federation of the *Universités Populaires* of France and the National Federation of the *Universités Populaires* of Italy, results confirmed in the International Congress of Works of Popular Education meeting at this time in Milan ;

The Universal Peace Congress expresses the wish that there be constituted in all the nations Federations of *Universités Populaires* and other similar institutions, and that these National Federations may be grouped in an International Federation.

The Congress has learned with satisfaction that Count Apponyi, Hungarian Minister of Public Instruction, has given both moral and material support in favor of the appointment of a member of the corps of teachers (of Hungary) to take part in the labors and deliberations of the Commission on International Education. It would be happy to see this example followed by the other countries.

The Congress urges the peace societies of different countries to use their influence with the school authorities and with those engaged in teaching to secure the observance of Peace Day in the schools of all grades by some suitable exercises, as has been done in several countries, notably in Italy and the United States.

Since peace education tends essentially to inculcate in the minds of the rising generation the principles of respect for human life and of brotherly accord between races and nations ;

The Congress expresses the wish that peace women, aided by groups of educators in the public schools, establish "Peace Centres" (*Foyers Pacifiques*) for the purpose of giving to the children and their families correct ideas on the reconciliation of races, on the rights of man and the necessity of universal concord.

The Congress expresses the further desire that women of social prominence may earnestly endeavor to inculcate peace principles in the minds of all women, and instruct them in the means by which these may be inculcated in the young.

The Congress calls the attention of the peace workers to the necessity of making clear the true notion of national patriotism, and then of propagating it, so that there may not exist in the minds of the people any feeling contrary to international patriotism and the justice due to other countries.

PROPAGANDA.

Having learned, with great interest, of the Dutch project of an International Exposition in Favor of Peace, to be organized on the occasion, in 1911, of the inauguration of the Peace Palace (Carnegie Foundation), though not wishing to deal with the financial side of the project or interfere with the preparation of the statutes of the society in process of formation ;

The Congress believes that the inauguration of this Palace will offer an exceptional opportunity for a great international pacific demonstration ; and it invites all the peace associations to support with the largest possible liberality the work undertaken by the said society, and especially to coöperate by the creation of national sections in every country.

REFERENDUM, PETITION, ETC. — Several propositions having been presented in favor of the use of the referendum, general petition, etc., in behalf of limitation of armaments and international concord, the Congress voted the following resolution :

Whereas, A manifestation of this kind, in order to reach an effective result, requires first of all adequate financial resources and a well matured organization ;

The Congress thinks that all the societies affiliated with the Berne Bureau should take cognizance of the propositions and put themselves in relation with the Bureau.

The Congress invites the Bureau to appoint a special commission, with power to add to its numbers, to coördinate the efforts and determine the best methods of executing the project. It expresses the wish that the preparatory work of the peace societies begin immediately, in order that the consultation of the people may take place before the second Hague Conference.

POSTERS. — As regards the use of posters, the Congress, recalling the action on this subject of the twelfth Congress, which was never carried out, warmly recommends this popular and practical mode of propaganda. It especially recommends —

1. The use of posters in the schools, wherever it is acceptable.

2. The periodical use of posters on bill boards, and in the interior of shops, kiosks and tramways (street cars), and invites the national delegations to give attention to the execution of this resolution.

Resolutions were also voted in favor of a public declaration of the inviolability of human life ; in favor of the founding of an International Pedagogical Institute ; in favor of the use of postal cards as a means of propaganda ; in favor of a still closer union and coöperation of the peace societies ; and in favor of a reduction of international postal rates.

Appeal of the Fifteenth International Peace Congress to the Nations.

The Fifteenth Peace Congress has been held under circumstances particularly favorable. The initiative taken by the United States and the Russian governments for a second conference at The Hague, the encouraging example given by the English government in reducing its military expenses, the disposition of public opinion in the greatest nations of Europe, and the attitude taken by several heads of state, prove that the hour of definite peace is near, and that the struggle for military supremacy in Europe is no longer the inspiring *motif* of modern international politics.

The peace propaganda has without doubt had considerable influence in bringing about this happy transformation, because it has been directed along the line of historic movement. It has had a powerful auxiliary in the economic expansion of the European states throughout the whole globe. This has taken away from the military leadership of Europe the importance and strength which it had a century ago. The new movements of scientific and philosophic thought, the growing influence of the middle classes and the masses of the people, who demand a policy of concord and peace, have also aided.

The painful disturbances which are agitating modern democracies show that they are radically dissatisfied with their lot and are longing for new institutions. They are demanding everywhere old-age pensions for the working people of the cities and of the country, assurance against disease and enforced idleness, and these demands are becoming every day more and more imperious. Now it is most evident that the only means of providing for these social needs is the employment for these purposes of what now goes into the military budgets. There is no other, for the imposts have already reached a point which it is almost impossible to pass without seriously injuring production. The reduction of war expenses is therefore no longer a mere desire of humanitarians and idealists. It is an imperious social necessity.

The present condition of the Russian empire illustrates in a tragic manner the truth of the doctrines of the peace makers. May this lesson not be lost! The governments of the other countries ought to learn from this example that an agreement rendering disarmament possible is henceforth indispensable. Conquests by violence ought forever to be renounced. The determination should be reached to respect strictly the rights of peoples and to settle boundary questions by juridical means. Those who desire still to follow an antiquated policy according to the puerile ideas of the middle ages take upon their heads a terrible responsibility.

It is therefore henceforth the imperative duty of every conscientious man to labor courageously to prevent these possible misfortunes by the establishment of a juridic union of the civilized nations, which is the only means of giving to the peoples of the earth what they have the legitimate right to demand, a comfortable and happy existence.

Extension of the Scope of Arbitration Treaties and of the Jurisdiction of the Hague Court.

ADDRESS OF SIR THOMAS BARCLAY AT THE BERLIN
CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LAW
ASSOCIATION, OCTOBER 2.

The "Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," signed at The Hague on July 29, 1899, provided only for voluntary or optional arbitration. All idea of compulsion, in fact, was specifically excluded throughout the Convention. Thus the signatory powers undertook, in case of grave disagreement of conflict, before appealing to arms, only "as far as circumstances allow," to have recourse to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly powers; and only "as far as circumstances allow" were the powers to tender their good offices. Provision was made, "as far as circumstances allow," and where involving "neither national honor nor vital interests," for international commissions of inquiry, which were even to have no binding character for the parties, etc.

Under the subsequent Anglo-French Treaty, the contracting states obliged themselves to submit to the Hague Court "differences of a judicial order, or relative to the interpretation of existing treaties," on condition that "neither the vital interests nor the independence or honor of the two contracting states, nor the interests of any state other than the two contracting states, are

involved." This formula has been followed in the treaties with other states entered into by Great Britain and France. It is obvious that the enforcing of such a treaty depends entirely upon the consent of both parties, and that either party, by raising the contention that the matter at issue is vital or involves national honor, can set it aside. By referring such cases to the Hague Court, however, all the effect intended by those who met at the Conference of 1899 has since been given to its program.

Though states seem no longer reluctant to resort to the Hague Court, and public opinion has come to view it with increasing favor, and several important cases have already been submitted to it, no progress has been made towards compulsory arbitration as a pacific means of settling questions of vital interest as between any states which might otherwise be exposed to the danger of war.

The new Hague Conference, in dealing with the question of extending the scope of arbitration, will have to bear in mind that a treaty of arbitration, to fulfill its purpose of avoiding any break in the amicable relations between states, must be, at the same time, general, obligatory and automatic.

It must be general, because its purpose is defeated if, when the crisis comes, one or the other party can dispute the applicability of the treaty to the matter at issue. It must be obligatory, because, if it is not, a treaty of submission must be negotiated at the worst possible moment for negotiations, namely, at a moment when the state of national feeling may threaten to suspend negotiations altogether. For the same reason it must be automatic.

In short, the operation of the treaty, if it is to serve the cause of peace in times of great emergency, must be instantaneous. The jurisdiction which has failed must *ipso facto* be succeeded by the new jurisdiction, with its new men and its new methods.

Different systems have been adopted by contracting governments for the reference of *all* difficulties without distinction to arbitration. The one, as in the Chile-Argentine Treaty of May 28, 1902, refers them to a specified independent government (in the case of the Chile-Argentine Treaty, to the British government, and in default of the British to the Swiss government). In the unratified treaty of July 25, 1898, between Italy and Argentina, it was provided that the arbitral tribunal should be composed of three judges, two appointed by the parties and an umpire chosen by the two judges so appointed; in case of disagreement, the umpire to be appointed by an independent state; in case of disagreement as to the state, to be appointed by the President of the Swiss Confederation, and in his default by the King of Sweden; arbitrators not to be citizens of either contracting party, nor residents in the territory of either party.

The system adopted in the unratified treaty of January 11, 1897, between Great Britain and the United States, also covered all cases of difficulty between the parties, but in other respects rested on totally different principles. There were to be three classes of arbitration tribunals. For questions of indemnity up to £100,000, three arbitrators were to be sufficient. When more than that sum was in dispute, five arbitrators were to be called in. For territorial or national questions of supreme